

# THE EXAMINER.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

VOLUME III.

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WHOLE NUMBER 122.

From the New York Evening Post.  
The Missing Opinions of President Monroe's Cabinet.

In his very able speech at Jefferson, on the 26th May last, Col. Benton referred to the opinions of the members of Mr. Monroe's cabinet on the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories of the United States. The evidence of these opinions was first produced in the Senate of the United States, by Mr. Westcott, of Florida, on the 25th of July, 1848, in the discussion on the bill establishing a territorial government in Oregon. It consisted of a manuscript letter from Mr. Monroe, written in 1820, in which two questions were stated as having been propounded by him to his cabinet, for the purpose of ascertaining the opinions of its several members, with regard to the constitutionality of the eighth section of the act to admit Missouri into the Union, which prohibited slavery in the Louisiana territory north of 36° 30' north latitude, (Mason & Dixon's line.) These questions are as follows:

INTERROGATORIES. MISSOURI, MARCH 4, 1820.—"To the HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS AND ATTORNEY GENERAL."—"Has Congress by a right, under the power vested in it by the Constitution, to make a regulation prohibiting slavery in a territory?"

Is the 8th section of the act which passed both houses on the 3d inst., for the admission of Missouri into the Union, consistent with the Constitution?"

In the letter of Mr. Monroe containing these he says, the opinion of the administration was explicit in favor of the constitutionality of restraining slavery in the territories. The administration or cabinet was composed as follows:

Mr. Monroe, of Virginia, President.

Mr. Adams, of Massachusetts, Secretary of State.

Mr. Crawford, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Calhoun, of South Carolina, Secretary of War.

Mr. Thompson, of New York, Secretary of the Navy.

Mr. Bent, of Virginia, Attorney General.

Of the six members of the cabinet, including the head, there were four from slaveholding and two from free States.

It seems that Mr. Dix had also been in possession of a copy of Mr. Monroe's letter, for on the day after Mr. Westcott spoke, he produced it, together with an extract from Mr. Adams's Diary, which he had prepared from his son. Those who remain in the debate, will not have forgotten the flurry occasioned by the production of this evidence, and especially the extract from Mr. Adams's journal, which confirmed Mr. Monroe's letter in every particular, not only to the minutest agreement in the phrasology of the questions, but in respect to the unanimity of the cabinet, and the fact that the opinions were given in writing, and deposited in the Department of State.

Mr. Calhoun gave a very faltering and unsatisfactory account of the matter. Mr. Font, of Mississippi, came to the rescue by inquiring whether Mr. Adams's statement was under oath, implying that it was not otherwise to be believed; and Mr. Johnson of Maryland, the present Attorney General, performed the same friendly office of intervention for the South Carolina Senator, by giving a wide-drawn exposition of the difference between the terms "unanimous" and "explicit."

All this, Colonel Benton has recently brought again before the public, in his clear and pointed manner.

Without enlarging upon it, we now desire to present some farther evidence of the existence of these opinions, and of their deposit in the Department of State, in reply to some of the statements made in the preceding passage from Mr. Calhoun's reply to Col. Benton:

Opposed to the statement of Mr. Adams, stands the fact, that no opinions, as is admitted by Colonel Benton, are to be found on the files of the Department of State, NOR ANY EVIDENCE THAT SUCH OPINIONS WERE EVER FILED; although the statement purporting to be from the diary of Mr. Adams, says that Monroe directed them to be filed. One of two things would seem to be clear; either he fell into an error, in making the entry, or that he failed to place them on file, in consequence of some subsequent direction from the President.

The canvass and the marble speak to us in all the touching passions of humanity, until we almost believe that the artists were possessed of Promethean power. Our souls charm us with their harmonious verisimilitude and exalted sentiments, while an angel might listen to the entrancing notes of a Laborde.

The land is full of labor-saving machines, of most wonderful power, that hourly perform the work of thousands, and they are daily increasing. Railroads radiate to every point of the compass, "making the solitary places glad." Steamboats, with their uniring wheels, plough deep into the bosom of all our navigable streams, and, ere long, the whole globe will be traversed by steam-boats and steam engines, connecting land and sea, to its remotest corners.

Science, eagle-like, has soared above the clouds, and seized the lightning by its flitting tongue, compelling it to become a machine of thought between man and man.—Wonderful!—to compel that fierce power to utter friendly words, that is born of the warring elements, that goes with a leap and a shout on its mission of destruction and death, tearing the gnarled oak as if it were a toy, and rending the bosom of the everlasting hills!

But, while science has done so much more consistent—for enlightened Christian nations to meet their enemies with the weapons of intellectual argument. Oh! how infinitely better were it for society, could her vanquished enemies rise unscathed from the field of conflict, only stripped of the false armor with which they arrayed themselves for the combat, than to listen to the groans of men cut off in the midst of their days; and behold "tear and hungry dogs"! proul about the dead bodies of fathers! husbands! sons! licking from the drunken earth their precious blood; while its loathing bents wands forth a deadly missile, such an exclamation escape from my breast!

Napoleon said: "Alexander and Caesar passed away, but the world went on with."—While the greater part of these have remained in—have covered themselves with the learned dust of centuries, and rested, like a mighty incubus, upon human pro-gress—they have perverted their veneration

ons in writing upon the constitutionality of the law for the admission of Missouri into the Union."

"This entry," continues Mr. Westcott, "is in the hand-writing of Mr. King, then a clerk in the department, who has been dead many years. A book, in which those papers were probably bound, in supposed to be lost; at any rate, the papers cannot be found."

Here is direct record evidence from the department itself, that the opinions were filed, and that Mr. Calhoun's assertion is untrue. It overthrows his last feeble effort to escape the inconsistency of having solemnly admitted, when acting under his oath to support the constitution, in the high position of an adviser of the President, the right of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories, and of denying the power, under the same oath, when acting in the high position of a representative in the Senate of the sovereign States of the Union.

The questions occur—What have we come of these opinions? In what manner, by whose agency, for what purpose have they been secreted in the State Department, or abstracted from it? For we will not suppose, for a moment, that they could have been lost, or that they could have evaded the searching examination of Mr. Westcott, himself a clerk in the department at a former period, if they had merely been accidentally out of place.

Col. Benton, in alluding to the abstract of the opinions, significantly says, "It is to be recollect'd, that no one of Mr. Monroe's cabinet has been Secretary of State since that time but Mr. Calhoun."

To the inferences which, without much violence, may be drawn from this remark, Mr. Calhoun replies:

"As to the inquisition, that I am the only member of the cabinet of Mr. Monroe who has since been Secretary of State, and all others of like character, I pass them with silent contempt due to their baseness, and the source whence they came."

We do not believe that, in a matter of such gravity, the public judgment is to be put off or evaded by assumptions of dignity or offended virtue in any quarter. The archives of the government have either been designedly plundered, or most negligently kept. With whom the responsibility rests we do not undertake to say, or even conjecture. The great importance of these opinions, as bearing upon the question of power over slavery in the territories, cannot be overrated. Those who denied it and were seeking to extend slavery, had a deep interest in the suppression of this testimony against them, from some of the master spirits of the South. In saying this, we neither design to accuse nor draw down suspicion upon any man. But it is due to all concerned that the subject should be probed to the bottom, with the evidence now before us that the opinions of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet, have been in the custody of the Department of State.

From the National Era.

EDUCATION.—No. 1.

In discussing the important subject of education, we do not intend limiting ourselves to any fixed rules; but, taking a wide range, purpose viewing it in its most comprehensive significance.

We hope, after glancing at the present condition of society, to demonstrate clearly to our readers a few important propositions.

1st. The moral and social evils existing in society depend to a great extent upon a wrong system of education.

2nd. Our present system of education is wrong, because it is not in harmony with nature—it does not rightly develop the physical, intellectual, and moral nature of man.

3rd. A right system of education will do this—consequently, will reform and re-create the world.

There is no subject so worthy the attention of an intelligent community as that of education. There is no subject that has occupied so large a share of the interest of the Learned and the Philanthropist of all enlightened nations; and yet there is no one so little understood by all. It is a melan-choly truth, that the moral and social progress of man has never been in the same ratio with his advancement in the arts and sciences. Human ingenuity and invention have been racked in bringing these to perfection; and—look at the glorious results!

The canvass and the marble speak to us in all the touching passions of humanity, until we almost believe that the artists were possessed of Promethean power. Our souls charm us with their harmonious verisimilitude and exalted sentiments, while an angel might listen to the entrancing notes of a Laborde.

The land is full of labor-saving machines, of most wonderful power, that hourly perform the work of thousands, and they are daily increasing. Railroads radiate to every point of the compass, "making the solitary places glad." Steamboats, with their uniring wheels, plough deep into the bosom of all our navigable streams, and, ere long, the whole globe will be traversed by steam-boats and steam engines, connecting land and sea, to its remotest corners.

Science, eagle-like, has soared above the clouds, and seized the lightning by its flitting tongue, compelling it to become a machine of thought between man and man.—Wonderful!—to compel that fierce power to utter friendly words, that is born of the warring elements, that goes with a leap and a shout on its mission of destruction and death, tearing the gnarled oak as if it were a toy, and rending the bosom of the everlasting hills!

It is the province of education to harmonize these antagonistic principles, to make force subservient to love, by directing the belligerent nature of man against the errors and vices of society, instead of individual members and nations.

How much better were it—how much more consistent—for enlightened Christian nations to meet their enemies with the weapons of intellectual argument. Oh! how infinitely better were it for society, could her vanquished enemies rise unscathed from the field of conflict, only stripped of the false armor with which they arrayed themselves for the combat, than to listen to the groans of men cut off in the midst of their days; and behold "tear and hungry dogs"! proul about the dead bodies of fathers! husbands! sons! licking from the drunken earth their precious blood; while its loathing bents wands forth a deadly missile, such an exclamation escape from my breast!

We have said, and shall endeavor to demonstrate clearly, that the social and moral evils of society grow out of a wrong sys-

tem of education—out of an incomplete development of man's physical, intellectual and moral nature. We must look to the cause of the evil for its remedy—to a right system of education to correct the evils of the wrong.

We often hear it said, "The world is full of error, and needs reforming, but where can we begin?"

Nature teaches us that the tender sapling can easily be trained into a perfect tree; while the gnarled oak, that lifts its great arms on high, and strikes its roots deep into the heart of the earth, must wither in its proud deformity, unless blasted, at once, by the lightnings of Heaven. Deeply-rooted prejudices and veteran habits cannot be easily overcome; but the old generation is fast passing away, another is filling its place with minds highly impressionable, and capable of appreciating and practicing the most exalted virtues. To them God seems to point in his providence, and say, "There is a new race—begin once more."

The call is particularly to parents and teachers. They are to rekindle, in man, the bright spark which emanated from the Deity, but which has become almost extinguished in the rubbish of the world. They are to mould the mind for time—to fashion it for eternity!

HUNGARY.

Letters from Kosssuth to Potsch-Kruszka and Democracy.

Thus we find that the present state of society is highly reactionary, and is becoming more and more so. We should content ourselves in its chaotic condition with sorrow, did we not see a new and more beautiful creation evolving from the confusion—did we not behold that star that a few years since appeared in the east, and that, like a Savoir, has attracted the attention of the wise, shining with undimming brightness upon the night of metaphysical doubt and speculation, in which the minds of many of the wise and good of past ages wandered without a guide, and were lost in the uncertain lights that flickered around them. This star is attended with brilliant satellites, which, like it, receive all their light from the great Spiritual Sun, the centre of the Moral System.

We find that society is in a highly reactionary condition. It grasps with one hand the most noble and elevating truths, and retains with the other the prejudices and customs of the darker ages. There is now existing in the community two powerfully antagonistic principles—the *love* principle and the *force* principle. The former says, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink;" the latter, "Away with him, kill him; crucify him." The one is of the earth, earthly; the other "the Lord from heaven." The one belongs exclusively to an enlightened Christian people; the other to a barbarous, savage people. Is it not so? And yet the most powerful and convincing arguments of enlightened nations are still given at the canon's mouth. Christian and barbarous nations still revenge their injuries in the same manner—by appeal to arms; the only difference consisting in the manner of attack and the form of the weapon. The savage rushes upon the savage with horrific yell, sending the poisoned darts thickly upon the unprotected body; each warrior killing his single man with only one fly of his arrow. The Christian, arrayed in full armor, marches on his message of death to the measure of celestial music; and, while his holy strains are filling the air, sends his accursed bombshells into the very heart of ancient and glorious cities—the arches of the earth—destroying their proud monuments of art and most sacred relics of antiquity, and—O, my God!—in a moment of time, blotting thousands of thy creatures from existence forever—worse than all, casting a moral blight and darkness over the earth, that the light of an eternity can never dispel.

Still, enlightened Christian, like barbarous nations, yield their highest honors to their warriors, raising them to the most exalted positions in Government, to wield all the political and moral power of a community; consequently adding increased glory and dignity to the profession of arms there, by making a necessity of war—while they leave their veteran statesmen, who for half centuries have toiled unceasingly for the honor and good of their country, to wear their laurel wreaths upon their tombs.

The *love* principle is stronger than the *force* principle, and, oh! how sublime, how beautiful in its strength! It is high as Heaven!—who can attain it?—deep as the unfathomable ocean!—who can reach it?—as eternity!—who embrace it?—and yet, an infant in its type, it is so humble. We said that the *love* principle is more powerful than the *force* principle; but there is so little of the former in the world, that the latter triumphs—consequently, that "right makes right," has become an almost universal maxim. No marvel, then, that the moral power of society is weakened, instead of being made strong, by numbers—no marvel, when each would rob the other of his right, that with an increase of numbers there should be an increase of crime, and that this vast accumulation should constantly ferment, and throw out from its agitated bosom fierce assassins and bloody rioters—not marvel, that the mob should rule in place of law, while the force principle triumphs—while it is educated into the mind of the little infant, from the moment of its plastic nature is capable of thought.

While I existed, I lived well, because I sought to do the right and unmask the wrong;

to revive men's hearts by calling to us all who suffered and to whom I could say with the sage, "spes illorum immortalitatem est plena!" I have sought the means of initiating Christ, of saving His temple, of defending His pontiff, by assuming the banner of the cross and extending His power by a democratic crusade; and I must say that, preaching in sincerity and self-denial, I succeeded in effacing myself and considering myself un compensated beyond my merit when I saw what stars shone around me, and cast their light even upon my shadow. But every sun has its spots, and no strongest mind can avoid deficiencies.

I shall not recall to you anything of our acts, of our heroic prowess, for you, Count, know them as well as I. But, worn out by a life of which I am weary, to desire, before laying off its burden, to say to him who will understand them many last words that I would not confess to no purpose. O, that they might become the grain of mustard seed and be fruitful! For the produce of a man on this earth must be profane, or else it is accursed.

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